

'Votes for Women,' April 30, 1915.

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The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

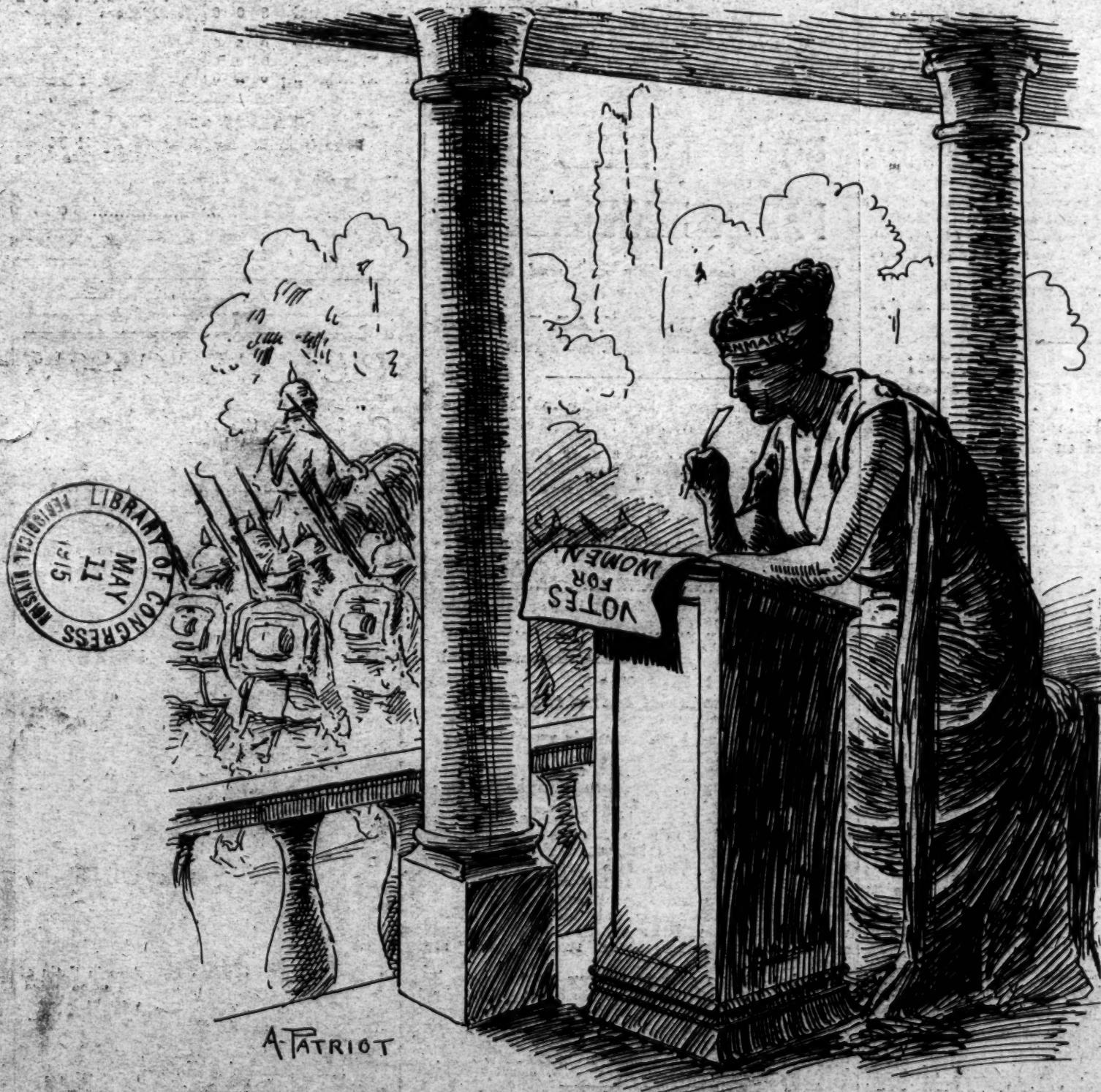
OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. VIII. (Third Series), No. 873.

FRIDAY, APRIL 30, 1915.

Price 1d. Weekly (^{Post Free}
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DENMARK'S VICTORY



In 1864 Prussia wantonly attacked Denmark and defeated it by force of arms. While Prussia is again at war (for the third time since that date), Denmark has won, over all countries which refuse citizenship to their women, a victory in the great war of human freedom, by passing a bill which, though not yet fully ratified, is to enfranchise Danish women.

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THE CAMPAIGN

Indoor Meetings

Thursday, April 29; 8 p.m.—Public Meeting.
Red Cross Hall, White Cross Street, Borough. Speakers: The Rev. J. M. Maillard, Mrs. Ayrton Gould and Mrs. E. Hayes. Admission free.

Friday, April 30; 8 p.m.—Public Meeting.
The Library, Prince Arthur Road, Hampstead. Speakers: Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck and Mr. H. W. Nevinson. Chair: Mrs. Whelen. Admission Free.

Monday, May 3; 3 p.m.—Drawing-room Meeting.
Meadow Way Green, Letchworth. Speaker: Mrs. Ayrton Gould.

Tuesday, May 4; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Miss Mary Richardson.

Wednesday, May 12; 8 p.m.—Debate ("War, For and Against").—Queen's College (Small Hall), Birmingham.

THURSDAY, MAY 13; 8 p.m.—PUBLIC MEETING.
—ESSEX HALL, ESSEX STREET, STRAND. SPEAKERS: REV. W. TUDOR JONES, Ph.D., MISS MARY NEAL AND MISS MARY RICHARDSON. CHAIR: MR. GERALD GOULD. ADMISSION FREE.

Friday, May 14; 3 p.m.—Drawing-room Meeting.
—Bramdean, Buckingham Road, Headingley, Leeds. Speaker: Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck.

Friday, May 14; 8 p.m.—Public Meeting.
—Onward Hall, Deansgate, Manchester. Speakers: Dr. Helena Jones and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck. Chair: Professor Merriek. Tickets 1s. and 6d. from Hon. Sec. at Manchester Friday evening meetings.

Outdoor Meetings

Sunday, May 2; 12 noon.—The Flagstaff, Hampstead Heath. Speakers: Mrs. Leigh Rothwell and others.

Sunday, May 2; 3 p.m.—Streatham Common. Speakers: Mrs. Ayrton Gould and Mrs. Gregory.

Tuesday, May 4; 3 p.m.—Corner of Webber Street, New Cut. Speakers: Mrs. Gow and Miss M. Phillips.

Thursday, May 6; 8 p.m.—Corner of Avondale Square, Old Kent Road. Speakers: Mrs. Leigh Rothwell and Miss Balchin.

Friday, May 7; 8 p.m.—Corner of Skipton Street, London Road. Speakers: Miss Sennett and Miss M. Phillips.

SOUTH LONDON CAMPAIGN

Organiser, Miss Mary Phillips, 92, Borough Road, S.E.

Mr. Nevinson's lecture at B.S.P. Hall was very much appreciated on Wednesday night by Club members and outsiders.

Open-air meetings are going ahead now that the weather is better. Skipton Street grew quite exciting, thanks to our old friend the heckler.

Red Cross Hall must be well filled. The way to go is: Tube to Borough, or tram or bus to St. George's Church; turn up Marshalsea Road. White Cross Street is the fourth turning on the right.

THE WOMEN'S EXHIBITION

We wish to draw the special attention of our readers to the announcement that the U.S. will be represented at the Women's Exhibition to be held at the Caxton Hall on May 10, 11, and 12. We shall have a cake and candy stall, and we shall also be represented by two speakers, Mr. Laurence Housman on Monday, at 8.30 p.m., and Mrs. Ayrton Gould on Wednesday, at 8.30 p.m.

Successful results must be assured, and we rely upon the generosity of our readers for gifts of cakes, sweets, and jams, all of which should be sent to Mrs. Whelen, United Suffragists, 3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.

The Exhibition promises to be an exceedingly interesting and attractive enterprise, with various exhibits, such as toy-making, arranged by the East London Federation of the Suffragettes, and sweated industries, arranged by Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky. A number of other Suffrage Societies will hold stalls, and music and entertainments are also down on the programme. Tickets—1s. from 3 till 7 p.m., and 6d. afterwards—may be obtained from 3, Adam Street.

AMERSHAM AND CHESHAM U.S.

Hon. Sec., Mrs. Drinkwater, Fieldtop, Amersham. A very interesting At Home was arranged by

Miss Waltham, of St. Faith's, Wendover, on Tuesday, April 20, when Mrs. Fox-Strangways gave a much appreciated address upon the need for women to bestir themselves to help in the uplift and protection of their unfortunate sisters. Mrs. Shield kindly sang, and Madame Schmidt gave pianoforte solos.

BIRMINGHAM U.S.

Hon. Sec., Miss Haly, 103, Bunbury Road, Northfield

On Wednesday, April 21, Miss Sharp spoke at Aldridge, where, thanks to the kindness of Mrs. Jones, a delightful drawing-room meeting was held. In the evening Miss Sharp spoke again at Queen's College, Birmingham, when Mr. Percy Adams, a staunch friend of Woman's Suffrage, was in the chair. She has left us with a renewed determination that the Suffrage flag shall keep flying in Birmingham. The branch wishes to convey its most heartfelt thanks. The past week has been a strenuous one for the Birmingham Branch, and they are very grateful to Miss Somers, who has held most successful open-air meetings. Will all members notice the change of the Secretary's address, which will in future be 103, Bunbury Road, Northfield? The committee, after much serious consideration, have decided with the consent of the members to close the office at 19, New Street, and devote every penny of their funds to active propaganda work. The splendid record of the past three months has made this course seem eminently worth while. Will all members kindly notice the dates of the monthly meetings at Queen's College, in the Campaign? These are thrown open to friends and sympathisers, and promise to be of very considerable interest.

to VOTES FOR WOMEN almost ever since it began, seven years ago. It is so excellent a paper in every way that I find it the greatest help to understanding all our problems, and since it became the organ of the United Suffragists it is better than ever."

Miss A. F. Trigger (Newcastle, Staffs.) encloses a donation "with sincere admiration and gratitude for the brave way in which VOTES FOR WOMEN has kept the flag flying."

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LIVERPOOL U.S.
Hon. Sec., Miss Isabel Buxton, 111, Queen's Road

Members who were unfortunately prevented from helping with our previous meeting will be glad to know that we are pushing forward with another to take place on May 12. This time it will be run jointly with the Women's Freedom League, who will be represented by their leader, Mrs. Despard. Our representative will be Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck. Full particulars in next week's VOTES FOR WOMEN. We are delighted to note that a general feeling that Suffragists have had sufficient respite, and that activities should now be resumed, is abroad locally amongst other societies besides our own. This week our paper will be on sale in Birkenhead streets. Surely Liverpool can run a "pitch" as well!

We hope to be able to arrange an "at home" soon, so that members may get to know each other better. If it can be managed, we hope to have Miss Sylvia Pankhurst to speak on that occasion. We have two new members, one of whom has already procured three regular readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN"

From our Readers

Here are two tributes selected from those which have reached us this week:

Mrs. Julia Solly, of Cape Province, South Africa, writes to say: "I have been a subscriber

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Our Cartoon ..	249
United Suffragists ..	250
The Outlook ..	251
Votes for All Soldiers ..	252
Women as "Docile Labour." By Ruth Cavendish Bentinek ..	253
The Vote Now! By the Rev. J. M. Maillard ..	253
Correspondence ..	254
Comparison of Punishments ..	255
Coming Events ..	255

DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper

THE OUTLOOK

The outstanding Suffrage news of the day is that the Danish Parliament has adopted the new Constitution, under which women are to be not only enfranchised, but made eligible for membership of the Rigsdag. The change will not become law until confirmed by the new Rigsdag after a dissolution, but it is believed that this confirmation will follow as a matter of course, and that the delay, necessitated by the constitutional nature of the change, is only a formality. "It is hoped," we read, "that the King will sign the new Constitution on June 5, the anniversary of the establishment of the first Constitution in 1849." This triumph of reason and right in a small nation which has been spared the horrors of the present war should serve as an example to the larger Powers, and as an encouragement to all Suffragists in the fight for freedom.

Cardiff Again

Once again the eyes of women all over the country must be turned to Cardiff. This time it is not, as it was before, a case of those unfortunates (known to the official vocabulary as "certain women"), who were court-martialled for being in the public streets: it is a case of competent, patriotic working women, evidently desirous of serving their country and well fitted to do so, who have been employed as tramcar conductors by the Corporation of Cardiff. Their employment has called forth a strong protest from the tramwaymen, who threaten to refuse to work side by side with them. Now this is a matter in which we may observe, in a compressed and quintessential form, the economic difficulties which surround the work of women in a community which refuses to recognise their citizenship, and we therefore make no apology for inviting the earnest attention of our readers to the details of it.

Compulsory Undercutting

To begin with, is it alleged that the women are undercutting the men by doing conductors' work at less than a full conductor's salary? We cannot find any assertion to this effect in the resolutions passed at the men's mass meeting last Saturday, as reported in the *South Wales Daily News*—except in that the women are, unfortunately, working free for the few weeks of probation. The meeting having been adjourned till Wednesday midnight, by which time we shall have gone to press, and a deputation to the Tramways Manager having been appointed for the meantime, we cannot treat the matter as closed one way or the other; but we can and do say, on the general principle, that if the women are being paid lower wages than men, that is a scandal which should be peremptorily stopped. It is not the women who in such situations are to blame; only too often the individual woman is coerced by hunger into taking a wage which she knows to be unjust both to herself and to the men in the same trade. Women, hampered by lack of the driving power of the vote in their

efforts at combination, are often *compulsory blacklegs*, and will inevitably remain so until they get the vote. Let men Trade Unionists once grasp that (as many of them have already done), and throw their weight into the struggle for women's freedom, and their own position will be enormously improved.

Why Lads Rather Than Women?

But the Cardiff case is not as simple as this. The tramwaymen assert (1) that there are plenty of men available who are not eligible for military service; (2) that, "even if such men were not obtainable, there are plenty of youths under military age who would be glad of the opportunity of . . . supplementing the family income." To take (2) first: It will strike everyone as extraordinary that the very thing which is often urged by men against women's work—namely, that they are not always self-supporting, but take jobs only "to supplement the family income"—is here urged not *against*, but *in favour of*, the employment of lads. Why, in Heaven's name, except on the old unprincipled principle of "downing the women," should it be right for lads to do what it is wrong for women to do? Nor is this all: one of the resolutions passed by the Cardiff tramwaymen at this actual meeting protested specially against the employment of married women whose husbands are in regular work, so that on any logic the protest should have been extended to lads whose fathers were in regular work! To go back to (1): the dilemma now appears very simple. If work is to be given, not according to capacity, but according to need, un-necessitous women must not exclude necessitous men, but *neither* must un-necessitous men exclude necessitous women (and how would the tramwaymen like to see a man refused a job because his wife was in regular work?). If, on the other hand, work is to be given according to capacity, the men have no grievance if the women are not lowering wages. On either hypothesis equally, votes for women are needed to protect both sexes from low wages and unjust distribution of employment.

War Babies.

There is reason to believe that a good deal of exaggeration has been indulged in over the expected advent of "war-babies." Many people who have never troubled themselves about the large number of illegitimate children born in peace-time, their appalling death-rate, and their unhappy lot, have now taken an interest in the more "romantic" illegitimacy which is declared to be anticipated on such an unprecedented scale. Some high-flown talk has been indulged in, both by those who appear to think that the special conditions turn into heroism what they would otherwise have condemned as immorality, and those at the other extreme who do not hesitate to forget their Gospel and throw the first stone at girls, many of them mere children, who are now in the throes of anxiety and sorrow. Both the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily News* have conducted enquiries in typical towns, where many soldiers have been billeted, and both agree that the evil is being much exaggerated. In both Southport and Blackpool, for instance, those most likely to know the facts are optimistic and loud in their praises of the behaviour of the troops as a whole. On the other hand, that illegitimacy is at all times surrounded with depressing circumstances which tell heavily against the chances in life of the innocent child, and that a certain increase of it under present conditions is to be expected, cannot be denied.

Dealing with the Problem.

A Conference called by the Women's Imperial Health Association was held on the 22nd to dis-

cuss the problem, and a committee was appointed to investigate facts; resolutions were passed expressing the opinion that help given should be in co-operation with the public health authority, and that on any local committee women should be represented. Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky contributed to the *Daily News* of the 23rd a reminder that of 800,000 babies born each year, 114,000 die before they reach their first birthday, and, coupling with the general problems of illegitimacy and infant mortality the special urgency of the present crisis, declared that woman's work is "to secure to these 'war mothers' relief from heavy labour before and after childbirth, adequate nourishment . . . and intelligent management" of the infants, and to press for legislation and for the establishment of lying-in hospitals, midwifery assistance, schools for mothers, extension of staff of health visitors. It is also widely urged that Notification of Births should be rendered compulsory. The attitude of Suffragists is clear; as individuals, they have never been backward in any movement for national health or any work of mercy, and never will be; as Suffragists, they must press harder than ever for votes, the only weapon by means of which they can adequately overcome these or any similar difficulties. The votelessness of women tells heavily against the self-respect of women and the self-restraint of men; and now is the time to alter it.

The Hague Conference

Two of the British delegates to the Hague Conference have been for some time on the spot, but the other twenty are still, as we go to press, prevented from crossing by the suspension of traffic between England and Holland. The German women also are said to have encountered difficulties. A committee of influential French women have sent a letter to the Conference, explaining that their duties in connection with the present situation, as well as the practical difficulties of the journey, prevent their attendance, but expressing their general agreement with almost all the resolutions to be proposed. They declare that there is a special obligation on women to speak out when men feel themselves bound to keep silence, that the women who come together in time of war keep alive the spirit of internationalism, and that women love peace for the sake of humanity's freedom. The Executive of the British Committee have issued a statement to make it clear that the Congress does not intend to call for peace at the moment or discuss detailed terms—"still less to raise a 'peace-at-any-price cry'"—but only to discuss the principles of a permanent peace. The Congress opened on Tuesday evening.

At the moment of going to press, we learn that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has wired from Rotterdam: "Arrived safe and well." Our readers will remember that Mrs. Lawrence was on an American liner which carried many American delegates, and which was delayed at Deal.

Items of Interest

The Manchester Men's League for Women's Suffrage held its Annual Meeting on Monday last. Everyone who shares with this courageous League the conviction that now more than ever do women need the vote will wish it a prosperous new year of work.

The Walton Heath Golf Club has set an example by the employment of girl caddies, who were seen there for the first time last Saturday.

The attempt of the Post Office to employ telephone girls at 22s. a week for night duty (for which men have always received 30s.) is being met with vigorous opposition by postal telegraph and telephone employees, both men and women.

A question in the House of Commons by Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke, on the 20th, drew attention to the fact that women employed in making army shirts are getting often only 7½d. per shirt; the official reply stated that the women usually get 8d.

Subscriptions to the paper should be sent to The Publisher, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

The terms are, post free, 6s. 6d. annual subscription, 3s. 3d. for six months inside the United Kingdom, 8s. 8d. (2dols. 25cents) and 4s. 4d. (1dol. 15cents) abroad, payable in advance.

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(3) Recognise various forms of suffrage activity as of value, and are ready to contribute any kind of service according to their capacity and conviction.

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FRIDAY, APRIL 30, 1915.

VOTES FOR ALL SOLDIERS

A week or two ago, when women were publicly called upon to register for War Service, we congratulated the country, and especially our Liberal Government, on having discovered women at last. Unhappily, it now appears that, so far as the Government is concerned, our congratulations were premature. We yielded to the temptation of giving people greater credit than they deserve. That shows a generous disposition, and sometimes when one attributes too high a credit to a man, he rises to the occasion and tries to deserve it. But among our Cabinet Ministers we find no such signs of grace. The two leading members of the Cabinet—the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer—have lately been making long and eloquent speeches upon a matter with which women are very closely concerned, and yet in neither speech is there a single sign that either of these Ministers has reached the discovery of women yet.

We refer to the speeches of Mr. Asquith at Newcastle, and of Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons, both upon the supply of "munitions." Both speakers said a great deal, and quite justly, about the high national service now performed by the men who toil at the production of all necessities of war. Mr. Asquith was especially eloquent and insistent upon this point. He said he had come to Newcastle, the chief centre of armament manufacture, because:—

"In no other area in the British Empire—not even in Flanders or in France—are our national fortunes, our success in the greatest struggle in which we have ever been engaged, more intimately bound up with the efforts and energies, with the patriotism and the self-devotion of those who, like you, are specially called by the supreme exigencies of the time and by your own capacities and opportunities to render your best service to the State."

A little further on, after maintaining that "our honour, our security, our most glorious traditions, our best hopes, our most cherished ideals were put in issue" by this war, he further emphasised the value of the workman's service, placing it on a level with active service at the front, in the following words:—

"The miner, the shipbuilder, the engineer, the iron and textile worker, the railwayman, the docker—everyone who contributes, whether by brain or by muscle, to maintaining and increasing the supply of munitions upon which the efficiency of the fighting forces depends is, in as true a sense as any of our gallant sailors and soldiers, a patriot and a combatant."

With those words we entirely agree. Their truth is, indeed, obvious, for in war time, not only ammunition, but food, clothing, transport, and all manner of other manufactures are essential, and the country might just as well try to fight without soldiers as without the workpeople who turn these various equipments out. The truth is obvious, and yet, like Mr. Asquith, we wish to insist upon it. We insist upon it

even more than Mr. Asquith, because he, as usual, forgot to take into account half the population of the kingdom. The *Manchester Guardian* called his speech "a remarkable example of compression." It was, indeed, so compressed that the very thought of women was pressed out of it. His descriptions were of men, his suggestions as to housing and transference were for men, his appeal was to men alone. Exactly the same is true of Mr. Lloyd George's speech on the same subject in the House of Commons. Except that Mr. George was rather more explicit, the purport of that speech was the same, the praise of the men workers was the same, the proposals were the same, and from end to end there was the same entire absence of any reference to the women who are doing equally national service. About women's service, from beginning to end, Mr. George uttered not one solitary word. Neither the Prime Minister nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer has yet advanced to the discovery of women.

Yet, outside the House of Commons, where women are unrepresented, and therefore unheard, everyone knows that women are toiling at this national service in all manner of employments, and too often on terribly unequal terms. At Newcastle Mr. Asquith called sixty-seven to sixty-nine hours' work a week a very high average for a man, and he praised the men for doing it. What does he say to the eighty-four hours a week that women work in armament factories? The truth about it was stated at the recent Board of Trade Conference over which Mr. Runciman presided. All this armament work is reported to be time work, and the Government gives no guarantee or promise of any kind that women shall be paid for time work at the same rate as men. In all Government contract work the Factory Acts are now suspended, and what does Mr. Asquith say to the cases at Leeds which we mentioned last week? In one case a girl under sixteen had been kept at work twenty-five hours at a stretch, and had "met with an accident." In another case a woman had been kept at work twenty-nine hours. This was too much even for the Home Office, which had granted suspension of the Factory Acts; and yet, as a result of its complaint, we read that the magistrate observed, "No one would be any the worse for the extra work," and dismissed the summons. When such abominations happen, when women are thus bled to death at lower wages than men and flung aside because their places can at once be filled, we are not only astonished that the chief Ministers of our country should ignore their existence, we are reduced to shame that Members of Parliament, to whom the word "honourable" is thought to be peculiarly appropriate, should remain indifferent and unmoved, while they themselves reduce their own hours of work to half and continue to draw their pay of £8 a week without reduction at all.

Within the last fortnight, in answer to questions from Mr. King and Mr. Samuel Samuel, both the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer have informed the House of Commons that the question of securing or extending the franchise to all soldiers and sailors during active service, or on their return from it, is receiving the Government's careful consideration. We agree that the question deserves all the consideration the Government can give. We only call upon Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George to be reasonable and extend their consideration one step further. They have both told us that men who are maintaining the supply of the requisites upon which the efficiency of our fighting forces depends are patriots and combatants as truly as our gallant soldiers and sailors. Let them open their eyes to discover that women, who maintain the supply both of requisites and of the very men who use them, are also patriots and combatants in as true a sense. And having at last made that discovery, let them take into their most careful consideration the enfranchisement of this splendid order of national servants equally with the rest.

WOMEN AS "DOCILE LABOUR"

By Ruth Cavendish Bentinck

Just now, when the Government is appealing to women workers, and when those who have studied industrial questions are protesting against blackleg labour, it is well to consider what position has hitherto been assigned to women in the wage-earning world. The subject is an all-embracing one, but it is instructive to look at one aspect of it, in any particular trade or process.

Take, for instance, Mr. Hunter's handbook on "Wool," in the "Common Commodities of Commerce" series. Wool not only forms the chief clothing of every human being living outside the tropics, but it is also required for a vast quantity of material needed for other purposes. England owes quite as much to wool as to cotton, yet it is an industry employing far more women than men—so much so, that whereas manufacturers used to erect their mills on streams which furnished them with water for power, and for scouring and dyeing, they now look for relays of labour, and are "tempted towards new colliery districts, where men are well employed and local work for women is absent."

And what is the position of these women who are so necessary to the wool and worsted industries? The first thing that strikes one on reading this handbook is that women are looked upon as though they were merely some sort of cheap lubricant necessary to the keeping of machinery in motion. When enumerating the many advantages which the British manufacturer commands, we are told one of the most important is the "apt and docile labour, the thoroughly sensible and conscientious workmanship" which is at his disposal; and "stress is laid on the cheapness of British labour, for it is clear that woollen and worsted work is less remunerative to the operative than work in cotton factories." Now the expression "apt and docile" is invariably applied to those forms of labour employing many women, nor are the reasons for this "docility" and "cheap labour" difficult to discover—indeed, Mr. Hunter furnishes us with them, for he says, "Trade Unionism does not find its most congenial soil among young women who, with children, form a large part of the operative class." This strikes us as regrettable when we read further on that:

Weaving employs many women and few men. Trial patterns on hand looms, the most expensive worsteds and woollens, are woven by men, but two out of three of all the persons in and about the weaving shed are women. Female labour is cheaper than male, although less resourceful, and cheapness and its concomitant abundance explain the presence of women in the weaving shed.

I can only remark that Trade Unions have found means of dealing with the "cheapness and concomitant abundance" of men in their trades; and as for women being "less resourceful," one would like to enquire whether women, however intelligent, would be allowed the privilege of working on trial patterns at the same rate of wages as men. But when one is told that—"For men worsted spinning provides work chiefly as over-lookers who have the oversight of the work done, and are responsible," and that men do "the work which puts most tax on the intelligence," and "officer the industry," it takes little imagination to realise that women would never be permitted to possess themselves of these delectable appointments, but that all they can ever aspire to is "the routine work . . . calling rather for patience and dexterity than initiative." For them only:

The monotony of the task of tending the machine, replenishing the weft, watching the pattern, restarting when anything is amiss and the loom hangs off . . . the work is not beyond the strength of women, and not incompatible with good health and good looks. [This essentially male solicitude for our appearance is the only indication that the author does admit women have at least bodies, though, of course, not minds!] The woman weaver is less boisterous and coarse than some of the operatives of thirty years ago.

And what is paid for this apt docility, this monotony and the routine work that is not

beyond our strength and does not detract from our natural refinement? From the figures, as furnished, it is impossible to say more than that, the average earnings per head of the workers being somewhere about £40 a year (inclusive of the male operatives, some of whom get 30s. a week and more), the wages of the women are probably not very much better than those of the girls and boys, who, when employed full time, receive 9s. 3d. a week for girls, and 10s. 2d. a week for boys—presumably on the mischievous assumption that a girl should eat less and be less warmly or cleanly clad than her brother, for we are not told that their work is of a different nature. An adult woman's work is apparently priced at its highest somewhere between 11s. 3d. and 13s. 10d. a week, according to the locality, and I make bold to say that no one has any right to expect "resourcefulness" and "initiative" for such a wage. There are people who would expect the Archangel Gabriel to be their cook, valet, groom, gardener, barber, and boots for no more than his keep—and then grudge him that, saying food must necessarily be injurious to angels. Initiative must, and should, be paid for. The fact is, we don't want it; all we ask for is mere industrious routine work.

It would indeed be a mistake to spoil docile labour by encouraging potential brains in the next generation! We therefore wisely continue

to send children into the mills under the half-time rules; that is to say that—

If, by the age of twelve, they are able to pass severe educational tests, they are allowed to work in the mills on alternate mornings and afternoons, and attend school the rest of the day.

"Passing severe educational tests at the age of twelve" is a sentence as worthy of pre-Factory Act days as the following:

From the standpoint of industrial perfection the earlier the child begins to practise the suppleness and dexterity necessary in making a neat job of piecing broken yarn the better. A girl makes a better spinner for life by beginning at the age of eight than by beginning at nine, and better by beginning at nine, ten, or eleven than at the age of twelve.

And so we tread the old vicious circle. We place every hindrance in the way of the little over-worked, under-fed girl-child; in order to prevent her acquiring the skill and training necessary for those who would earn good wages; and we then say women cannot command good wages, not having the necessary training and skill. Similarly, we talk instinctively of "women and children," because we admit in our hearts that the welfare of children is women's business, and then we deny women any power to make or alter laws governing either the education or the work of the children. Then, having done all these stupid things, we say Man is a Reasoning Being!

THE VOTE NOW!

By the Rev. J. M. Maillard

The fact that it is necessary to keep urging the Government at this time to grant to women fair terms, in regard to employment on specifically public works, shows plainly the normal danger which besets women-folk in our country at all times. In demanding the vote we merely ask that women shall have power to checkmate underpayment, overwork, and bad conditions. This is quite obvious to those who have the subtle power of discerning the obvious. But what is less obvious, though nevertheless true, is the further demand which lies behind the vote, that women shall escape enforced moral and physical evils which are induced by political, social, and industrial inequality and injustice.

It is quite clear that women, because they are women, are open to exploitation by unscrupulous employers, and by the Government itself as far as the Government is gullied and twisted by such gentlemen. But again the moral issue is not so simple. The fact that women have responded in such numbers to the overtures of immorality amongst the soldier recruits of our country is due to the social fact that their minds have been made vacuous and their moral sense paralysed by the soul-destroying conditions of life.

The vote is immediately necessary as a protection because the vote is the authoritative voice of the community, and if there are any people in the community without an authoritative voice, those same people are unprotected; the unprotected are exploited. The Government of this country is the one authoritative body, and it only serves the circle of which it is the centre. The existing circle is not co-extensive with the community. Happy are they who come within the circle, for if the circle is exploited and has the intelligence to discover it (the circle does not always discover it, being entirely male), the circle is able, like the dungeons of old, to close in upon the authoritative body and produce political delirium tremens.

Nothing is free from the possibility of exploitation and injustice which is not in the circle. Women are not in the circle, and they are not only open to exploitation, but they are outside the range of redress when exploited. This is more or less true of all European com-

munities, and therefore there is a danger between the communities as there is within. Balance of power between the communities can never effect constant peace until there is a true balance of power internally. Being so constituted, the Governments of Europe are highly combustible, and when the commercial fuse of speculation and wild competition which links up the nations in combative rivalry is ignited, there is bound to be a conflagration. Looking at the composition of modern Powers with their undemocratic and partially representative houses of legislation and executive, it seemed inevitable that disaster should come.

And the most glaring cause of Governmental disease is the plague of male flies. Kill that fly!

Women must have the vote, not only because they are without what the vote signifies in modern civilisation, but also because women are an integral part of the community, and nothing but disaster can grow up in the nation when the genus "man," a four-legged and double-headed partnership, tries to carry on the world on one pair of legs and an odd head.

And we must have the vote now. Some Suffrage Societies are not working for the vote at present. They are organised for war service, and are doing an immense amount of practical good in commonsense ways for the country. But they will surely expect the prize later. They trust the Government. So do we, but not out of our sight. We want the vote now.

We often hear women spoken of as the nation builders. If the nation is to be free, strong, and happy, your nation builders must be such as well, for the nation, when built, is of the same living substance as the builders. What is found in the builders and their conditions is reproduced in what is built as faithfully as a photograph gives you a likeness of an object. If the nation builders are not free, if they have no national status, if they are struggling inch by inch through legalised oppression, woe betide your nation. Its perfection will be the maturity of a freak. Its best will be the worst at the best. Our nation is built up on a restricted humanity. It is unworthy of what we might be. Now is the day of salvation, and now is the day of the vote.

CORRESPONDENCE

"THE NEW PROBLEM"—A VERY OLD ONE!

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—The sad plight of the people's daughters included under the category of "unmarried mothers" has been treated considerately, on the whole, by the daily Press, for which, as lovers of youth, we who joyously welcomed our own fathered children should feel profoundly thankful. Now we anxiously await the outcome of public discussion in some generous provision for these needy ones.

At this hour of universal mourning every true heart among us is aching for our gallant men risking their all for king, kin, and country at the front. We cannot but keenly suffer likewise for every poor girl who is to face the dread ordeal of bringing a new life into the world at the possible cost of her own.

The moment does not appear to justify any arguments as to an increase of immorality and illegitimate births, or otherwise, induced by the startling and alluring glamour of military camps and khaki heroes all over the land. We have appalling facts to deal with, and if we are human—not to say Christianly human—we shall hasten to respond to the cry of misery which follows us wherever we go.

Many of the women to be helped are not unlikely—given the chance—to make devoted mothers. No stigma must be attached to the children. We demand their full equality before the law. It is encouraging to learn that a proposal for legitimization is to be discussed in the House of Commons.

It was stated that these coming babies should be handed over to the State. Were it not as well to point out on the contrary that they will legally belong to their mothers more than our own children do, and ought not to be arbitrarily dealt with? In the peculiar circumstances of stress it is incumbent on the State to present with a monetary grant those philanthropic, citizen, and religious committees undertaking to develop schemes for enabling the mothers to maintain and educate their war-children. But let us jealously guard the hard-earned liberties of these women and their offspring.

Let those among us pause who would essay to "cast the first stone at her," the mother of that coming child, unacknowledged by its absent father. We hope our relief leaders will not long be delayed in coming forward to supplement many a slender pittance, and entirely supply the utterly necessitous at a crisis so moving and unparalleled. Besides, blacker problems are awaiting solemn investigation and solution.

"With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again."

When this devastating war is over, the more earnest men and women of the country will assuredly conceive some effectual method of raising the moral standard of the Empire for the better protection of its children and young maidens, to the enduring glory of our Christian civilisation.—Yours, &c.,

GEORGINA M. SOLOMON.

April 24, 1915.

ARE WOMEN SLAVES TO FASHION?

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors—I was not previously alive to a lack of lucidity, but the fact that all your correspondents fail to catch my point makes me feel stupid. They do not realise what I am driving at. M. Mears says it is "a question of the number of inches round the hems of our skirts," to which the only answer is, Nonsense!

Lilian F. Suffern seems to think I was arguing against "a silly fashion," and wanders off to sub-

jects not in the least pertinent, waving the red flag of Sir Ahmroth Wright and fulminating against the *Times*. My unswerving and consistent support of VOTES FOR WOMEN, the paper and the cause it stands for, absolves me from any need to follow her. Enough to say, she has missed the argument, and her letter only proves the proven, that parallel lines do not meet.

Louisa Thomson-Price resolves the problem into whether women should wear balloon or hobble skirts, and flies off at that tangent; while M. Corrigan takes occasion to preach the doctrine of rational dress, which does not rightly come into the present discussion. They remind me of the rich uncle who, failing to corner his nephew on any other point, concluded: "And besides, John, I don't like your poetry."

Now, I do not want to argue against any of them, and I beg they will not argue against me; it is to a large extent only trying to convince a believer.

The point I raised was not like all these diatribes, vague, general, and doctrinal, but particular. Let me say personally that fashion foibles never disturb my serenity. But at this time, when the richest among us have very clamorous calls upon our purses, and when the poorest have to look at both sides of a penny before spending it, what have the leaders of fashion done but decree a change so complete that those weak sisters of ours who

this class is trained to perpetuate ancient beliefs? I have spoken of the invention of winged horses, lions, dragons, bulls, men, &c. (angels, cupids), as emblems in connection with the worship of the phallus (1), and I have said that the child of to-day does not care for stories of angels or fairies, but asks to be "told something true." The belief, therefore, in these imaginary creatures is perpetuated by the mothers. Many mothers sing hymns or religious songs to their babies, so that many of these may, when their intelligence begins to awaken, learn that the angels are supposed to be watching over them in their sleep. Some years later, when the child begins to ask questions, it says: "Is it true about the angels?" and the mother replies in a decisive tone which admits of no doubt: "Quite true, my child." I wonder whether these women ever ask themselves if they do really and sincerely believe in angels or fairies or other imaginary creatures of a similar character? If they are not positively certain, is it quite fair to prejudice the child in this way for life?

Now it is just this class of positive believers in ancient superstitions who are opposed to votes for women as to any other innovations, and it is just these persons who do not alter after they have attained maturity who will be as strongly opposed to votes for women after the war as they were before. This dense mass can only be reached by education during childhood, and what they learn from their mothers during babyhood is never forgotten. What are the militants doing to educate this class?

I do not desire to speak dogmatically. I simply request readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN to study this and other questions quite as important for themselves. If I have spoken too positively I will willingly withdraw, but I think the time is ripe for the discussion of this and other questions.—Yours, &c., GEO. E. BOXALL.

(1) "Les Trois Ages de l'Homme," page 18.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—I see it is reported that at a Mansion House meeting at York on April 10 Miss Thornton, a Board of Trade representative, quotes Mr. Lloyd George's letter to me as having "amplified" the agreement which resulted from the recent Treasury Conference between Mr. Lloyd George and Labour representatives.

I must protest against the correspondence between Mr. Lloyd George and myself being used to make women believe that women's sweated labour will not be employed to reduce the wages of men. Mr. Lloyd George stated that "women undertaking the work of men would get the same piece-work rates as men were receiving before the date of this agreement." I replied to Mr. Lloyd George's letter asking for an assurance that if women are employed on time rates to replace men, these rates shall be the same as those that were hitherto paid to men. To this letter, which was sent on March 26, I have received no reply, but at the Board of Trade Conference on April 13 Mr. Runciman said that in regard to Government contracts, whilst it had been decided that the same piece-work rates should be paid to women as to men, in regard to time rates no special conditions had been laid down. The general safeguard against women being used to displace men was that employers were being asked to take back those of their men who had served in the army.

These words plainly show that there is absolutely no guarantee that women will not be employed to do men's work at a lower rate. There is nothing to prevent women being engaged on time rates only. From the woman's point of view this is unjust; from the man's point of view, disastrous. Guarantees to take men back into employment after the war can never be enforced, and if any proof of this were needed, we may find it in the fact that promises by employers to make allowances to the wives of their workmen who are fighting at the front are already being broken on every hand.—Yours, &c.,

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.



AN AMERICAN POSTCARD

(With acknowledgments to the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc., New York.)

write about dress have proclaimed from the house-tops that everything one has now becomes hopelessly obsolete; no mending or tinkering will make "auld claes look amain as weel as new." I think everyone of your correspondents who has a grain of imagination must realise what this means to young women who, earning their livelihood in town, are obliged to be more or less à la mode. It is the imposition of a tax on the frugal, and to others it means a diversion of money from works of charity and mercy to the dressmaker. Your strong-minded correspondents may go on as though nothing had happened, but they are very self-centred indeed if they do not recognise that, human nature being what it is, this particular change of fashion is disastrous. I say it is the duty of all women who try to live up to the high standard which justifies the demand for votes to do their best to prevent a change as callous as it is complete. Even Louisa Thomson-Price cannot dismiss it "as investing in seasonable garments"—the phrase shows her lack of understanding.—Yours, &c.,

ANONYMOUS CORRESPONDENT TO THE "TIMES."
[This correspondence must now cease.—Editors, VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

ANCIENT BELIEFS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—The reviewer of my book, M. H., appears to me to have shown great judgment in selecting for special notice my remarks about "the great docile class." History is full of the doings of the agitators—the exploiters—while the mass of the people—those who have served as slaves, serfs and workmen—have certainly not received the attention they deserve; and yet it is this class which the women will have to conciliate before they can obtain the vote. May I attempt to illustrate how

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Juliette Drouet's Love-Letters to Victor Hugo." Edited by Louis Guimbaud; translated by Lady Theodore Davidson. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 10s. 6d. net.)

"What Women Want." By Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale. (London: Arthur F. Bird. Price 6s. net.)

"Painless Childbirth in Twilight Sleep." By Hanna Reon. (London: Werner Laurie. Price 6s. net.)

"Alpha and Omega." By Jane Ellen Harrison, LL.D., D.Litt. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

"Woman at Home." May. (London: George Newnes. Price 6d. net.)

"Militarism versus Feminism." (London: Allen and Unwin. Price 6d. net.)

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS**LIGHT SENTENCES****Indecent Assault on a Girl**

The People (April 25) reports case of a German, charged at the Old Bailey with a serious offence against a girl under 16. Prisoner had threatened to kill the girl if she told her mother what had occurred.

Sentence: *Twelve months' hard labour.*

Assaulting a Wife

Reynolds' Newspaper (April 25) reports case of a motor engineer charged at West Ham Police Court with assaulting his wife by smacking her face, pulling her hair, and kicking her four times. Prisoner admitted smacking his wife, but "not hard enough to hurt her," and stated that the trouble was that she wanted a separation because they could not agree. The wife said that he went out with other women and found fault with everything she did.

Sentence: *Fined 20s., or 13 days' imprisonment.*

THE OLD CONTRAST

Our table of punishments this week reminds us that a man-made and man-administered law considers the uttering of counterfeit coin three times as bad as "a serious offence" against a young girl, and the getting of a few not very valuable articles and some money by false pretences more than twelve times as bad as ill-treating a woman (at any rate if the woman happens to be the wife of the man who ill-treats her). Among other recent cases bearing on the position of women before the law, we notice that of a woman sentenced to *four months' imprisonment* for neglecting her children (the husband being at the front), while a man for a similar offence was given only *two months' hard labour*. It is true that in the latter case the man's wife was not imprisoned at all, but this does not destroy the force of the contrast; for it is clear that the wife had had no opportunity of looking after the children properly, for sheer lack of money. In the former case, where the woman had control of the money and could be held responsible, she received a long sentence. In another case, a most pitiful one of the ill-treatment by a stepfather of a diseased and mentally deficient child, whom the doctor found to be scarred on the arm and bruised on the shoulder and face, the man was sentenced to only two months' imprisonment. He urged in defence that he had "only just clumped the boy in the face." As long as he confines himself to "only just clumping" his fellow-creatures, he will never, in all probability, receive any very heavy punishment at the hands of the English law, but if he descends so far in the moral scale as to turn from persons to property, and steal or defraud even to a small extent, he will be exceptional if he is not visited with savage punishment. It is impossible to convey to those who make our laws the passionate bitterness of the resentful Suffragists feel at this rating of human beings below inanimate property. Nor can women ever find any means of bringing their point of view to bear upon the law until they are electors and citizens.

SOLDIER'S WIFE'S ALLOWANCE

A very hard case, which may be typical of many more, came before Mr. Chester Jones the other day, and Reynolds' Newspaper of April 18 did a public service in calling attention to it. A woman had obtained a separation order against her husband, with allowance of 8s. a week, while he was in civil employment; he is now serving in the Territorial Force in circumstances under which, it was alleged, his wife would in the ordinary way be receiving a separation allowance of between 25s. and 26s. a week from the military authorities. The woman asked for a summons calling upon her husband to show cause why the amount of the separation order should not be increased. We are glad to say

HEAVY SENTENCES**Uttering Counterfeit Coins**

The Daily Citizen (April 22) reports case of a labourer charged at the Old Bailey with uttering counterfeit coins. Prisoner, whose father had received a sentence of four years' penal servitude for a similar offence, was stated to be an expert.

Sentence: *Three years' penal servitude.*

False Pretences

The Times (April 23) reports case of a soldier charged at the London Sessions before Mr. Wallace, K.C., with obtaining a pair of crutches, food, money, and tobacco by falsely pretending to be wounded. Prisoner pleaded guilty.

Sentence: *Six months' imprisonment.*

that Mr. Jones granted the summons, and we hope that other women who find themselves similarly placed will make similar applications.

COMING EVENTS

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will hold a meeting in Hyde Park (near the Marble Arch) on Sunday, May 2, at 3 p.m.

Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky will lecture on "War Babies and their Mothers: How to Save Them," at the Suffrage Club, York Street, on Tuesday, May 4, at 8 p.m. Admission free. Miss Muriel Matters' lecture is unavoidably postponed until June 8.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a public meeting at the Suffrage Club on Wednesday, May 5, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Nevinson, LL.A., on "Women and Brute Force," and Mrs. Tanner. Chair: Mrs. E. M. M. Clark.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will be represented at the Women's Exhibition, at the Caxton Hall, on May 10, 11, and 12, from 3 to 10 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Davies and Miss Fedden.

They will also take part in the Victoria Park demonstrations on Sunday, May 23. The procession will form up at East India Dock Gates at 3.45 p.m., and the meeting in the Park will be at 5 p.m.

THE WOMAN VOTER

Reports of the Chicago election state that "in the poorer districts the women put the babies to sleep or left them in the care of a neighbour, and trudged to the polling-places." It is not stated what these women do with their babies when they trudge to the factory or to scrub somebody's floor.—*The New Republic.*

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SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

D.R. BARBARA TCHAYKOVSKY will speak at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James, on War Babies and their Mothers, on Tuesday, May 4, 8 p.m. Admission free. Collection in aid of the International Suffrage Shop.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE CELEBRATION. — The Women's Freedom League announce a United Meeting at Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, on Wednesday, May 12, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Miss Nina Boyle, Mrs. Bedford Fenwick, Mrs. Strickland, and others. Chairman: Miss Anna Munro. Admission free. Collection.

FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION will hold a meeting in Hyde Park (near the Marble Arch) on Sunday next at 3. "The Red Dragon leads the way!" "Cymru am byth!"

FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION will be represented at the Women's Exhibition, Caxton Hall, on May 10, 11, 12, 3 to 10 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Davies, 8.30 p.m. on 10th; Miss Fedden, 5 p.m. on 12th. Tickets: Price 1s.; after 7 p.m., 6d.; seasons, 2s. 6d.; can be obtained from Hon. Secretary, 69, Wimpole Street, W.

FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION will take part in the Demonstration and have a platform in Victoria Park on Sunday, May 23. Members can join the procession at East India Dock Gates at 3.45, and march under the Red Dragon banner. Meeting in park, 5 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Sorensen, Mrs. Duval, Mr. David Roberts. Chair: Mrs. Davies. Rally, Welsh!

MEMORIAL HALL, Manchester, Monday, May 17, at 7.30 p.m., Recital of Pianoforte Duets and Solos by Hope Squire and Frank Merrick. Tickets, 5s. (reserved), 2s. 6d., and 1s., from Messrs. Forsyth Bros., 126, Deansgate; and at the door.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds public meetings at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, Jermyn Street, Piccadilly, each Wednesday afternoon at 8.30. Speakers: May 5, Mrs. Nevinson, LL.A., on "Women and Brute Force"; Mrs. Tanner. Chair: Mrs. E. M. M. Clark. Admission free.

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UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

WILL HOLD A

PUBLIC MEETING

IN THE

ESSEX HALL,

STRAND, W.C.,

ON

THURSDAY, MAY 13,

at 8 p.m.

To Demand the Weapon of the Vote to Safeguard Women's Interests During and After the War.

CHAIR:

MR. GERALD GOULD.

SPEAKERS:

REV. W. TUDOR JONES, PH.D.,
MISS MARY NEAL,
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